

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EUR-12 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 NEA-10 EB-07

OES-06 IOE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 DODE-00

NSC-05 ACDA-07 NRC-05 /127 W
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O R 171702Z AUG 76

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4623

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

USMISSION IAEA VIENNA IMMEDIATE

USERDA HQ WASHDC IMMEDIATE

USERDA HQ GERMANTOWN IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 12902

DEPT PASS IO/SCT

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: IAEA AORG SF UK

SUBJECT: FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA IN IAEA

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REF: VIENNA 6789; VIENNA 6457; STATE 202260; STATE

203881

1. SUMMARY: EMBASSY DISCUSSED US DEMARCHE ON CONTINUED SOUTH AFRICAN PARTICIPATION IN IAEA WITH WILMSHURST (FCO ENERGY DEPARTMENT). WHILE CONVINCED OF MERIT OF USG LINE OF ARGUMENT, HE BELIEVES DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS WILL MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR UK TO DO MORE THAN LOBBY QUIETLY IN CORRIDORS AT BEST. WILMSHURST HOPES DEFINITE RESPONSE TO US APPROACH CAN BE MADE WITHIN A WEEK. END OF SUMMARY.

2. IN DISCUSSION OF PLANNED US DEMARCHE WITH WILMSHURST (ASSISTANT HEAD, FCO ENERGY DEPARTMENT), HE ACCEPTED FORCE AND LOGIC OF US ARGUMENTS FOR CONTINUED SOUTH AFRICAN PARTICIPATION IN IAEA. HE COMMENTED THAT UK WANTS VERY MUCH TO KEEP SOUTH AFRICA IN IAEA FOR OBVIOUS REASONS RELATING TO NONPROLIFERATION, SAFEGUARDS, ACCESSION TO NPT ETC. HOWEVER, HE OBSERVED THAT UNFORTUNATELY LOGIC IS NOT DECISIVE FACTOR IN BRITAIN AS IN MANY OTHER COUNTRIES IN DETERMINING GOVERNMENT'S ULTIMATE DECISION. WILMSHURST EXPECTS BRITISH MINISTERS WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO AGREE TO BE SEEN TO DO ANYTHING WHICH APPEARED, EVEN ON THE SURFACE, TO SUPPORT SOUTH AFRICA'S POSITION INTERNATIONALLY. AT BEST, HMG MIGHT AGREE TO LOBBY QUIETLY IN CORRIDORS FOR CONTINUED PARTICIPATION AND SIT STILL SAYING NOTHING DURING PUBLIC DEBATE.

3. WILMSHURST VOLUNTEERED THAT UK MISSION IN VIENNA IS PRESSING FOR HMG TO ADOPT POSITION SIMILAR TO US, ARGUING THAT UK MUST STAND UP, BE COUNTED AND MAKE A FIGHT OF IT. WILMSHURST ADMITS THAT HE DOES NOT SHARE THIS VIEW ENTIRELY SINCE HE JUDGES BATTLE TO KEEP SOUTH AFRICA IN IAEA CANNOT BE WON AND RELATIONSHIPS WITH THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES WILL BE "WORSENER LESS" IF WE ACQUIESCE RATHER THAN FIGHT. HE ACKNOWLEDGES THAT TO SOME EXTENT HE IS ALREADY ATTEMPTING TO RATIONALIZE A DECISION WHICH WHITEHALL OFFICIALS BELIEVE IS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN TO BE TAKEN AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL.

4. QUERIED WHETHER MINISTERIAL DECISION WOULD BE MORE CONFIDENTIAL

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FAVORABLE IF FULL CABINET CONSIDERATION WERE GIVEN TO ISSUE, RATHER THAN IT BEING RESOLVED BY FCO'S CROSLAND AND ENERGY'S BENN, WILMSHURST STATED PROCESS MIGHT TAKE LONGER BUT RELUCTANCE TO FACE A REAL DUST-UP WITHIN LABOR PARTY ULTIMATELY WOULD ENSURE SIMILAR DECISION BY FULL CABINET. WILMSHURST OPINES IT MIGHT BE JUST AS WELL FOR FCO OFFICIALS TO RECOMMEND BRITISH ABSENTION ON ISSUE SO THAT DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY OFFICIALS WOULD

NOT FEEL COMPELLED TO RAISE MATTER WITH SECSTATE BENN
WHOSE REACTION MIGHT BE TO PUSH FOR OPENLY ANTI-SOUTH
AFRICAN STANCE IN IAEA.

5. WILMSHURST BELIEVES THAT IT IS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN
THERE WILL BE A STRONG MOVEMENT AGAINST SAG AT BOARD OF
GOVERNORS MEETING BEFORE GENERAL CONFERENCE, AND THAT
MOST LIKELY WAY OF BLOCKING SAG AT GENERAL CONFERENCE
IS VIA CREDENTIALS ROUTE. HE EXPECTS EVERY POSSIBLE
PROCEDURAL DEVICE TO BE USED TO KEEP SAG OUT OF CONFER-
ENCE ITSELF. HIS ASSESSMENT IS, HOWEVER IT IS DONE,
ANTI-SAG LOBBY WILL WIN. HE SUGGESTED SAG MIGHT LEAVE
IAEA VOLUNTARILY RATHER THAN BE EXPELLED. IN ANY CASE,
THERE SUBSEQUENTLY WOULD BE NO QUESTION OF AGENCY SAFE-
GUARDS OR NPT ACCESSION, AND IT WOULD BE MUCH MORE
DIFFICULT FOR ANYTHING TO BE DONE IN NUCLEAR FIELD WITH

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 12902

SOUTH AFRICANS. FINALLY, PRECEDENT WOULD BE SET FOR
EXPELLING OTHERS ALTHOUGH THIS NEED NOT NECESSARILY
RESULT IN TOTAL POLITICIZATION OF YET ANOTHER UN BODY.

6. WILMSHURST QUESTIONED WHETHER OR NOT US WOULD END
UP IN ISOLATION IN PRESSING HARD FOR CONTINUED SOUTH
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AFRICAN PARTICIPATION. QUERIED ABOUT LIKELY FRENCH
POSITION, HE SAID GOLDSCHMIDT IS APT TO ELABORATE WITH
EXQUISITE FRENCH LOGIC ABSURDITY OF OTHERS CRITICIZING
FRENCH SALE OF REACTOR TO SOUTH AFRICA AND THEN BY VIR-
TUE OF PROPOSED EXPULSION MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR IAEA
TO SAFEGUARD REACTOR. WILMSHURST THOUGHT FRENCH MIGHT
CONTENT THEMSELVES WITH SOLITARY EXERCISE IN LOGIC AT
IAEA WITHOUT GOING ALONG WITH US IDEA OF MAKING PARALLEL
APPROACHES. HE ALSO EXPECTED GERMANY WILL WANT TO REMAIN
QUIET AS WELL BECAUSE OF CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE LOSS OF
REACTOR SALE TO NIGERIA SHOULD FRG OLA A PROMINENT
ROLE. WILMSHURST ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IF SAG DECIDED AT
THIS LATE DATE TO RATIFY NPT, THIS COULD CONCEIVABLY
TAKE SOME WIND OUT OF SAILS OF AFRO-ASIANS. BUT HE
ADDED THEY STILL WOULD HAVE ADEQUATE SUPPORT FROM
EASTERN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE TO SUSTAIN THEIR OPPOSITION
TO SAG.

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